

THE “*CONDER*” TOKEN

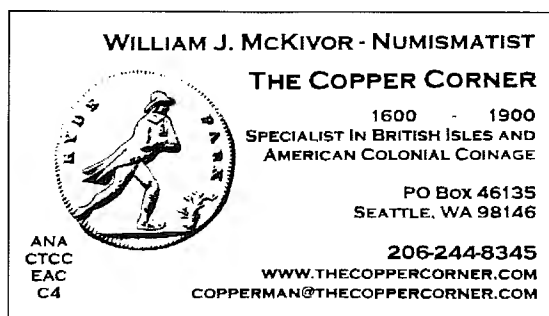
COLLECTOR'S JOURNAL

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONDER TOKEN COLLECTOR'S CLUB

Volume X Number 1 Spring, 2005 Consecutive Issue #35



THE TALBOT ALLUM AND LEE CONDER MULES
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INTRODUCTION

MICHAEL GROGAN

AN EDITORIAL COMMENT

I am pleased to note that this issue begins Volume X of our Journal, which began back in 1996. In looking over the earlier issues I am impressed by the diversity of articles and the number of members who contributed them. In more recent issues, however, our Journal has become increasingly dependent on a small group of dedicated frequent contributors. In an organization as large, diverse, and literate as ours this should not be the case.

Scholarly articles presenting original research are valuable and always most welcome, but one need not be a scholar to contribute. Writing about a favorite token, tokens depicting cats, dogs, sailors, etc, or a famous person on a token results in an interesting and entertaining article. The Journal needs your article. Ultimately the Journal can only be as good as the original writing done by CTCC members. Future issues depend on your contributions. I will be pleased to assist anyone in beginning or polishing a rough draft.

SHOULD THE CTCC HAVE AN ELECTRONIC JOURNAL? CONCLUSION

Several members have responded to the question of producing an electronic Journal. The consensus is that, while the full color images are very desirable, security concerns must prevent us from placing the Journal online for the immediate future. The electronic version will remain a future possibility to be explored when technology permits. Meanwhile, images of particular interest may be posted in color on the club website, www.conderclub.org.

CLUB ELECTIONS – SECOND NOTICE

Election of club officers will be held later in 2005 and it is not too early to consider running for office. Candidates for President, Vice President, Vice President International, and Treasurer MUST announce their candidacy by the September 1st 2005 deadline so that a ballot can be prepared for inclusion in the Fall Journal issue.

TOKEN TALES

The Journal has been running Dr. Bell's excellent series of articles for several years now and Steven Bellin has asked where the articles originate and how to acquire a complete set. The articles originally ran serially in "World Coins", a publication that ceased in the 1970's and are reprinted with the author's permission. The CTCC library has a complete set of back issues containing the articles available for loan to members.

ON THE COVER

The Talbot Allum and Lee cent is well known to U.S. colonial collectors but much less well known are the six British mules listed in Dalton and Hamer. Bill McKivor describes them in detail and illustrates all six – an extremely rare set – in this issue.

From the President's desk:

Just a quick reminder that CTCC elections for the positions of President, Vice President USA, Vice President International, and Treasurer, must be submitted to editor Mike Grogan mngrogan@comcast.net by September 1, 2005. I strongly encourage all members to consider participation. Speaking for myself, it has been a terrific opportunity that I have enjoyed thoroughly.

In the meantime...This past October it was my great good fortune to attend the Token Conference in Huddersfield England and the first round of the Spence Collection Auction in London. The focus was of course on 17th Century Tokens, with those of us into the 18th Century Provincials somewhat of a curiosity, but it was lots of good fun and great beer, with the chance to meet many of the faces behind the names that have become so familiar to me as membership chair.

The highlight of the trip for me was the opportunity to spend a couple of days with Richard Gladdle, his lovely wife Fanny, and of course 'Ducky' in their wonderful English cottage in their beautiful English village. They were all the best of hosts to myself, Bill McKivor, and Harold Welch.

Journal Issues 33 & 34 were full of great articles, and word from Mike Grogan is this issue is on par. New member James Hartcup offered a terrific article in #33 on Bigod's Castle in response to Bill McKivor's What is it? Where is it? teaser. It's exciting to see new members come in with fresh knowledge and insights.

Thank you also to our paying ad space members Bill McKivor of the Copper Corner, the folks at Morton & Eden Ltd. and Dix Noonan Webb, Alan Davisson of Davisson Ltd., and our newest addition Jerry Bobbe and Larry Gaye of Cheapside Tokens. It's good to have Jerry back into the fold, with renewed energies and enthusiasms for Conder Tokens.

A special thank you to all our members who have responded so positively to getting their dues in on time. The improvement has been tremendous, allowing our small club to stay solvent, make continued investments in our library, cover all of our expenses, publish this terrific journal, offer yet another club medal, and still have a few bucks left in the bank. An awesome job by everyone. Thank You!

GM

Pidcock's Menagerie, Exeter 'Change

By R. C. Bell

Newcastle Upon Tyne, England

Before the opening of the Zoological gardens in Regent's park there were only two places in London where wild animals were on view to the public, the Tower and the Exeter 'Change. The latter was in the Strand, housed in a building which had been built on the site of Exeter house, home of the Earl of Exeter, about the time of William and Mary, by a Dr. Barbon as a speculation, and consisted of three floors, the lower being for milliners, seamstresses, hosiers, etc. In 1708 the ground floor contained 48 shops, and the upper stories were tenanted by the "Company of Upholsterers".



Pidcock's Menagerie advertisement ticket.

Later G. Pidcock installed his "Exhibition of Wild Beasts" on the second and third floors. The animals were kept in cages and dens and paintings on the walls simulated their natural habitat.



Two-headed cow is portrayed on Pidcock's advertisement ticket.

Outside the front of the building projected out over the pavement of the Strand supported on Corinthian pillars, and between these the walls were covered with pictures of monsters and wild beasts. An attendant dressed as a yeoman of the guard stood at the doorway inviting visitors to enter and see the tigers, elephants, monkeys and birds housed within. The roar of the lions in the Exeter 'Change could be heard in the streets around and often caused horses passing by to bolt and endanger their riders or passengers in coaches.

The admission fee was two shillings, six pence; a large sum in those days.



Obverse of Pidcock's advertisement ticket.



Reverse of Pidcock's advertisement ticket.



Pidcock's advertisement ticket, farthing size, shows a pelican.



A beaver is featured on another farthing size advertisement ticket of Pidcock.

An advertisement in "The Times," May 22, 1794 reads; "ELEPHANTS.-- Lately arrived in the Rose East Indiaman, a most wonderful living male elephant, and to be seen in a commodious room, over Exeter 'Change, in the Strand. Admittance one shilling each. Likewise is lately added to the Grand Menageries, as above, two very singular and most astonishing kangaroos, male and female, from Botany Bay. Admittance one shilling. Also, just arrived, and to be seen in a commodious apartment, under the great room, as above, three stupendous living pelicans of the wilderness, two males and a female. Admittance one shilling. The three exhibitions may be viewed for two shillings, six pence each person. Foreign birds and beasts bought, sold, etc. by G. Pidcock."

The elephant on the token is not the famous Chunee, who after being a universal favorite for 20 years became unmanageable and had to be shot in 1826 during Mr. Cross's tenancy. A file of soldiers were engaged, and they fired 152 bullets before the beast fell. The elephant weighed nearly five tons; stood 11 feet high, and was valued at £1,000. The skin weighed 17 hundredweights and was sold to a tanner for £50 The entire skeleton weighed 876 pounds, was sold for £100, and was eventually procured for the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Gilbert Pidcock had 15 halfpenny and nine farthing dies cut, advertising the animals in his menagerie. The dies were muled to make numerous combinations. Some of the more interesting designs are illustrated in this article.



Rhinoceros illustrated on Pidcock's advertisement ticket came from the East Indies in 1790.

Periodically Pidcock took his menagerie on tour. Parson Woodforde visited the exhibition in Norwich, and noted in his diary that he had seen the freak two-headed cow. An advertisement in "The London Chronicle," January 29, 1791 records:

"Now exhibiting at the Lyceum Strand. The surprising heifer, with two heads. This very remarkable creature has two heads, four horns, four eyes, four ears, four nostrils, through each of which it breathes, etc. This truly wonderful curiosity is the only one of its kind in Europe; and what is more astonishing, it takes its sustenance with both mouths at the same time, to the admiration of the faculty, and the beholders in general; and it is also the received opinion of John Hunter, Esq., professor of anatomy, that she has two hearts. One of the heads, together with the horns, represents that of a bull, and the other a cow. The height of the animal is 13 hands, and each horn measures 25 inches long. Admittance one shilling. N.B. --- Most money given for all sorts of foreign beasts and birds, if alive, by G. Pidcock. A capital collection of wild beasts, with wagon, horses, etc. to be sold. Enquire as above."

When the menagerie appeared in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1788, Thomas Bewick the engraver spent many hours at the exhibition making numerous sketches which later he turned into a wonderful series of woodcuts for his masterpiece "A General History of Quadrupeds," published in 1790.



Another of Pidcock's advertisement tickets portrayed a male tiger.



Pidcock's advertisement ticket portraying baby kangaroo in its mother's pouch may have been the first born in Europe.

Lord Byron visited the Royal Menagerie at Exeter 'Change in 1813, and among other comments remarked in his diary: "...there was a hippopotamus, like Lord Liverpool in the face; and the 'Ursine Sloth' had the very voice and manner of my valet, but the tiger talked too much."

The rhinoceros illustrated on the token came from the East Indies in 1790 and was bought by the Exeter 'Change for £700. It was fairly docile and would let visitors pat him. He ate about 30

pounds of clover; that same of navy biscuits, and a large allowance of green meat every day, besides fruit when he could get it. He was very fond of sweet wines; and would drink three or four bottles in a few hours. After his death his carcass was preserved by Thomas Hall, the taxidermist and stuffed animal exhibitor of City road.



African crane portrayed on Pidcock's advertisement ticket.



Lion and dog are featured on 1801 Pidcock advertisement ticket.



Pidcock's advertisement ticket showing ostrich.

Kangaroos were introduced into Europe only shortly before the token was manufactured, and the baby 'roo in its mother's pouch may have been the first born in Europe. The lion shown on one token should be a lioness. She lost her cub and suckled and reared a puppy, which was used to replace her own offspring.



Obverse and reverse of advertisement ticket of T. Hall, Finsbury square.

"The Times" of January 5, 1795 contained an advertisement: "FOREIGN BIRDS. ---Just arrived at No. 1 Coventry St., opposite the Haymarket, among which is, that renowned bird the ostrich, described in ancient and modern history, to be the largest in the world, it measures nine feet high, and can admit of two young ladies or gentlemen to ride on its back at a time.

This bird exceeds, also, in strength, swiftness, and running, all the feathered tribe in the creation; it has the best plumage ever seen on an ostrich, in this country, for many years. There is also a very extraordinary bird, whose feathers resemble hair, and which has

very much the appearance of a beast, weighing near 200 pounds weight. The great horned owl, described as the inhabitant of Babylon: the royal crowned crane of Africa, and other curious and uncommon birds: also a very singular animal resembling a spider, called the bush devil; it makes use of its tail as other animals do their paws. Admittance one shilling each, 1,000 children and servants sixpence.'

The two most attractive farthing token designs show a pelican with his beak partly open, and a beaver holding a piece of wood in his forepaws. He appears to be eating the bark.

Gilbert Pidcock died in 1810 when 67, and was succeeded by Thomas Clark, who in turn died in 1816. He was followed by Polito; and then Edward Cross who was the proprietor when the menagerie closed in 1828 and the animals were transferred to the King's Mews. Two years later the Exeter 'Change was demolished and the Gaiety Theater built on the site.



Middlesex 415

Image Courtesy of Gary Sriro



FROM THE MAILBAG

Hi Mike;

The journal is very nicely done. I'm glad you are at the helm and I hope you are enjoying the experience. I'm close to getting out some articles for you; thus far both a lack of time and no usable photographs have prevented me from moving forward.

As I think I might have mentioned to you, my main interest has always been the tokens themselves, as opposed to the history of the times. I study condition, whether it be the grade, method of manufacture, or the state of the die(s), and have kept meticulous notes on those subjects for 33 years on everything I've seen. "My" (it's still so difficult to not say "our") collection has been formed with those ideas in mind.

Anyway, I could always dream that many CTCC members might write in to correct an inaccuracy in an article, but I suspect I will be it on this one. It has to do with the Tony Fox piece on the Essex Colchester tokens. There is some inaccuracy in what he states on page 25. Only the one pair of dies exists for these two D&H numbers, with a traceable emission sequence as follows: D&H-10 proof-like first-strike with a perfect obv die (state-I); D&H-10 non-proof-like perfect obv (still state-I); D&H-10a, b & d (all state-I); D&H-10 (again) with a very thin obv bisecting crack (state-II); D&H-10 & 10e with a heavier obv bisecting crack (state-III); then the obv die was extensively reworked to remove some bushes and part of a castle wall (it's still the same die), and D&H-9 was struck with the exact same crack as the previous tokens (because of the new changes, now state-IV); and finally the terminal D&H-9, on which an internal cud forms along the crack near the top of the castle (state-V). There are some other interesting facts: The reverse holds up undamaged and unchanged through all of this. These are in coin alignment, with the exception of all the state-III pieces, those being in medal alignment. D&H-10c has been untraced (unknown?) for over 100 years. D&H-9 is far rarer than D&H-10. And while D&H-10's are quite common in choice grades, I have only seen two D&H-9's in anything resembling full mint-state. A choice D&H-9 is no doubt a rare "bird!"

So, if you wish to print this information, please feel free. A full article on this would seem silly, and additionally I do not have access to a state-II photo. But in any event, please let me know if you need any other information. I hope my future token book will cover much of this sort of thing.

Also, I believe Michael Knight's "new" Hampshire token mentioned on pages 17 & 18 to be a D&H-43Bis.

And finally, on page 16, Gary Siro's Middlesex 944 Bis, while indeed different than a "normal" 944, is not a new die, but the same as that used for the obverse of Warwickshire 146. All three are struck in brass.

Best Regards,

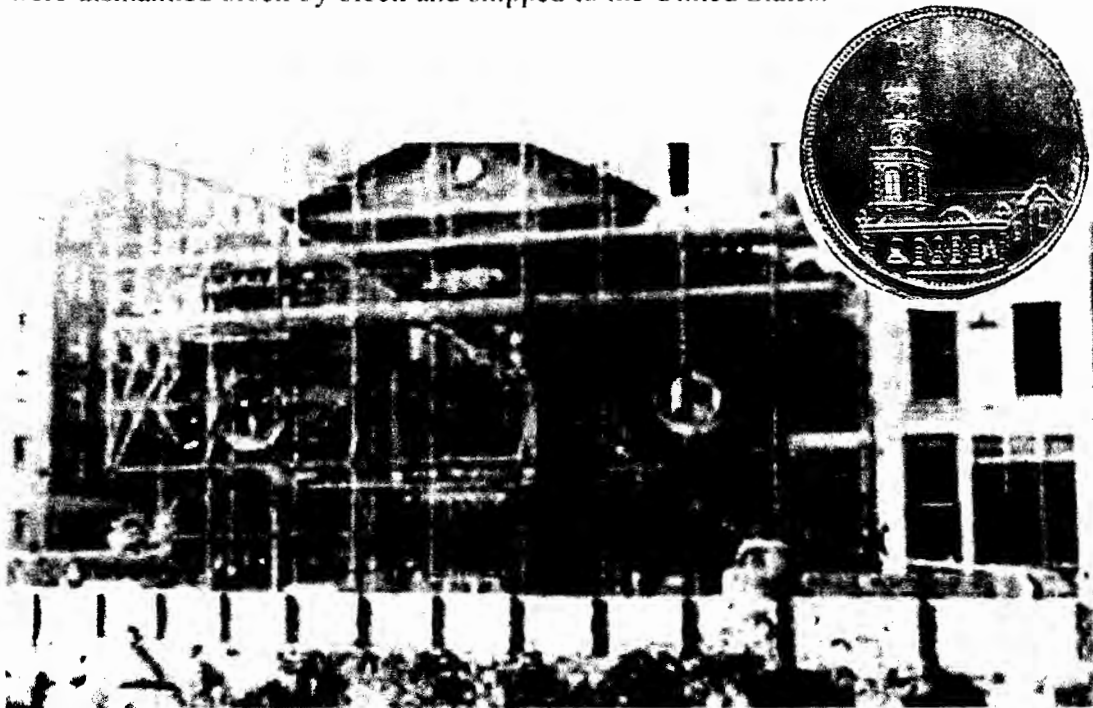
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SKIDMORE CHURCHES IN THE CITY OF LONDON

St Mary Aldermanbury

This medieval church was once famed for an enormous human bone, supposedly 28½ inches long which was displayed in its cloister. The church (bone and all) was destroyed in the Great Fire and simply rebuilt by Wren without a spire at an estimated cost of less than half of St Lawrence Jewry. Although damaged in the Second World War it was not rebuilt and left in ruins until the early sixties, when the tower, external walls and internal columns were dismantled block by block and shipped to the United States.



It was painstakingly rebuilt over the next few years on the campus of Westminster College Fulton Missouri as a memorial to Sir Winston Churchill whose fine statue stands in front of the church. The colleges web site gives a very good virtual tour of the interior of the church.



All that is left in Aldermanbury is a carefully planned garden, containing memorials to Hemming and Condell, the Shakespearean actors who published the first folio of Shakespeares plays and who were buried there. Amongst the foliage is fine bust of the Bard himself designed by Charles Allen in 1893 and the granite drinking fountain that stands on the corner was originally built into the churchyard wall in 1890. The City workers who regularly gather there at lunchtime, in this very attractive green space can read the two memorial plaques reproduced below.



Coincidentally The "Conder" Token Collectors Journal has just reproduced an article by the late Robbie Bell on the same subject in their autumn edition. Although written almost 40 years ago it provides some more interesting information and photographs.

The Essex D&H no. 42 (Leigh): The church belies it.

Tony Fox

The no.42 (Figure 1) was assigned by Dalton and Hamer (D&H) to Leigh on Sea in Essex. It is dated 1796, and carries the name "I. Hemmin.". Leigh is a parish that has now been subsumed into the growth of Southend on Sea, but it was formerly an independent fishing village with some farmland on northern shore of the Thames estuary. During the era when unofficial tokens were issued, its economy largely depended on raking shellfish out of the huge areas of Thameside mud exposed at low tide (which indeed still yield tasty oysters, cockles and whelks for fashionable London restaurants). A row of the eighteenth century cottages can still be seen there, just above the sea-wall. But in 1801, just five years later than no.42, this parish of 1527 acres had a population of only 570 souls (MacMunn, 1907). Could such a meagre village as this have spawned even a single late 18th century token issue ?

D&H no.42 has an inscription on the reverse "DEALER / IN.ALL.KIND / .OF./HARDWARE / 1796". The obverse contains a view of a church and has the inscription: "I HEMMIN LEIGH".



Figure 1: The Leigh no.42 assigned to Essex by Dalton and Hamer; note the porch on the right-hand end of the tower

Leigh and Lee, and Hemmin and Hemming are homonyms in an era when spelling was not yet perfectly standardized. Leigh / Lee is a common placename both in Essex and elsewhere in England. For a maritime place, this refers to a down-wind or down-stream shore, from which one must keep away by a good distance until making a final approach towards a planned landing (Reaney, 1935). Inland the meaning of the name changes. In

Essex, places named Lee, Leigh, or Ley (equivalent in the local accent), can indicate a meadow (as opposed to arable) fields, a shallow river valley, or some other elongated bit of landscape. A mediaeval sense of something like “private reservation”, or “secluded grazing” may also be implied in some cases.

But to return to the question: Should D&H have assigned this eighteenth century no.42 token to Essex ? D&H were themselves by no means certain. They noted that this token was a “puzzle to the writer and readers of *Bazaar Notes*”, and they mention some undisclosed connexion with one John Flemming, Whitesmith, of Worcester. D&H do not think that this farthing was a genuine trade token, although Waters (1957) thought that it was, albeit “But it is just possible that it is not the Leigh near Southend”.

Experts such as Dalton and Hamer must have been aware of the work of their predecessors. Two seventeenth century farthings and a halfpenny had been assigned to Leigh in Essex by Williamson, and he affirmatively disagreed with their previous cataloguing by Boyne to the Lee in Kent or the Leigh in Lancashire (Williamson, 1889-91). Thus, the precedent was in place. D&H doubtless knew that earlier tokens had been assigned to Leigh in Essex. In the absence of any other place called Leigh or Lee in their survey of eighteenth century tokens in the whole of England, the balance of probabilities made it natural to assign the eighteenth century no.42 to Leigh-on-sea, in Essex; this was a proven token-generating place without any competitor of the same name.

Neither John Flemming, nor any other similar Worcester token design, are to be found elsewhere in the D&H and Williamson catalogues. Even though spelling was not standardized, “Flemming” and “Hemming” are not homonyms in the vernacular of the day, because the former indicates some specific ancestor from the low countries, while the latter is often associated with the cloth trades. The Essex records are incomplete, but no such trader has yet been reported in the County. In 1826, some thirty-odd years after the issue, people with this surname have been reported by genealogists at Leigh in Lancashire.

Net, the original assignment of D&H no.42 to Essex deserves reconsideration.

No two parish churches in England look the same. The church on the obverse of no.42 is distinctive. Its tower has four evenly-spaced and evenly sized battlements on each side, with bell louvres beneath; lower still, there is a perpendicular-looking gothic window. This is a fifteenth century architectural composition. A small porch attaches on the right (western) aspect of this church tower. To the East there appears to be nave and chancel in one piece, with a large eastern (barn-door sized) window, as well as another door, of conventional size. This is not some stereotypical depiction of a church, but rather the accurate depiction of a particular church. Presumably, this church was thought at the time to be distinctive enough to identify the place from where this token hales.



Figure 2: St.Clements, Leigh-on-sea, Essex; a mismatch for the Essex no.42 in D&H; the building is largely 15th century.

It is a coincidence that three churches have towers with battlements: St.Clement's, Leigh (Essex; Figure 2), St.Mary's, Leigh (Lancashire; Figure 3), and St.Edburga's, Leigh (Worcestershire; Figure 4). However, only the last of these has four evenly sized battlements on each side of the tower as shown on the token. Leigh, Lancashire has six evenly-sized battlements on each side of the tower, while Leigh in Essex has a turret projecting above the battlements (see Webpages, 2005 and Figure 3). Furthermore, the Leigh, Worcestershire church still has its small porch attached to the western side of the tower (and this is an unusual English architectural composition). On the basis of architecture, D&H no.42 fits Worcestershire (Figure 4) much better than Essex, and the regular sized door shown on the token may represent the penitents' door on the north side of the nave that survives to this day at Leigh (Worcestershire).

Net, the church on D&H no.42 suggests Worcestershire, not Essex. Dalton and Hamer's original idea, and Waters's suspicion, are confirmed, even if we still have not tracked down Mr. Fleming the Whitesmith.



Figure 3: St.Mary's, Leigh, Lancashire; another mismatch for the D&H Essex no.42; the tower (probably 16th century) is larger and has more battlements than that shown on the token.

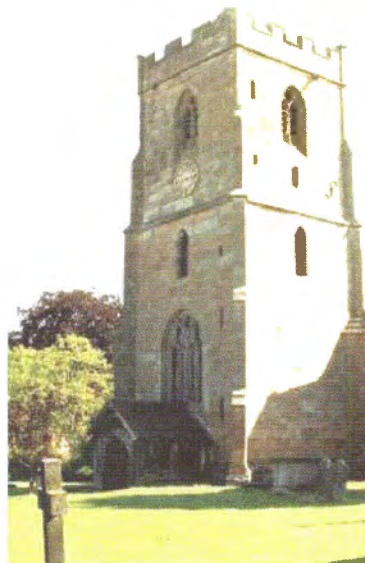


Figure 4: St.Edburga's, Leigh, Worcestershire. Note the unusual porch on the western end of the tower, and the four battlements on each of its sides. This is a better match for the D& H Essex no.42 than any other the others.

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Pattern Cartwheel Penny, Peck 1142

Image courtesy of Bill McKivor, from the Boulton family holdings

Talbot, Allum, and Lee---the “Conder token” that never was----

Bill McKivor---CTCC #3

We all approach the collecting of Conder Tokens from different places. As one who gets the chance to talk to many collectors, I am sometimes surprised at how they “found” the tokens and developed an interest in them. All love old copper. Nearly all who collect them are history buffs. British collectors seem interested primarily in the history of the county in which they reside, whereas Americans seem to collect all across the spectrum of D&H---many of them seem often to have become bored with “dates and mintmarks”. Americans often belong to EAC (Early American Coppers) and collect them as an adjunct to large cents---or come from C-4, the Colonial Coin Collector’s Club, where collectors cannot help running into Conder tokens---even if they do not realize it.

I followed a couple of those steps---first came the boredom with dates and mintmarks, then the move into Colonial coins. I was collecting a nice type set of Colonials, and one of the coins obtained was a Talbot, Allum, and Lee cent of 1794.

This piece is certainly familiar to US Colonial collectors----- but not so, I would imagine, to Conder collectors. It actually did not really dawn on me until around 1995 that the Talbot, Allum, and Lee tokens were, in fact, “Conders”---in the large sense of the word. After all, it followed every rule for a genuine trade piece---made in Britain in 1794, with an issuer, a value, and a promise to pay listed right on the token.

So--- why was it not listed in D&H?

The reason is simple. None of the Talbot, Allum, and Lee tokens were produced with an edge other than the “American” edge required, and thus none of the tokens circulated in Britain. One must draw the line somewhere, and if it did not circulate in Britain, it was not listed---not by early writers and catalogers, such as Conder, Denton, or Pye---or later writers Dalton and Hamer, R. C. Bell, Waters-----or anyone else writing about British tokens. There are some mules of the token with an English connection that are in D&H and other references---and we shall cover them all, unlisted and listed.

WHO WERE THESE FELLOWS, ANYWAY?

The firm of Talbot, Allum, and Lee opened for business in 1794 at 241 Water Street, New York. They were importers of goods from India, which was a booming trade in the 1790’s. Somewhere along the line they ordered a fairly large number of tokens from the firm of Peter Kempson, of Birmingham. They were halfpenny size but denominated at one cent-- the “going exchange rate” in America. Reports range from one to two tons of coin ordered over the life of the contract. There are three major types.

Type one 1794

“Without New York”

Description:

Obverse: Commerce Standing, holding a pole with a liberty cap, a bale of goods behind—
“Liberty & Commerce” 1794.

Reverse: A ship sailing to right---“Talbot Allum & Lee—One Cent”.

The edge reads “Payable at the Store of “-----

This piece did not have the legend “New York” in the field on the reverse as did all succeeding 1794 pieces. At one time, the thought was that there were but 8 of these tokens in existence, but today the number are considered to be 20. They are nearly always found in Good-VG, and rather rough. A couple of EF examples exist. The piece pictured below is a typical one, and came out of the Donald Groves collection in 1974.

It is uncertain how—or why—just a few of them were sent to the USA, but they were and all circulated, most of them heavily. It is not known if the principals of the firm noted the omission of “New York” and asked that the rest of the tokens have it, or if it was a mistake by Kempson and he tossed them in the shipment anyway. At any rate the token is RR.



TAL Token “Without New York” 1794

Type two---1794

Obverse: as the last.

Reverse, as above, with “New York” added to the reverse field.

These come with large and small ampersands (&) on the reverse. Small type pictured. This second group, with “New York” and dated 1794 went into circulation when they arrived and most found today have circulated. The small ampersand die is common, the large ampersand die scarce to rare. The edge is as the last, “Payable at the store of”-----



TAL token, with New York, 1794. Small ampersand variety.

A second order was made for 1795 tokens, but they were found not to be needed when they arrived from Birmingham. Some circulated, most were not used.

There are some differences in the reverse of the 1795 token--- “New York” being removed from the field and added into the legends around the piece-- and a difference in the edge.

Type Three---1795

Obverse---as before, but dated 1795.

Reverse, A ship sailing to right, “At the Store of Talbot Allum and Lee New York” around. The edge on the 1795 piece reads “We promise to pay the bearer one cent”.

This token is common, but not terribly common if you are looking for one in a lower grade.



TAL token, 1795

In April 1795 William Talbot sold a reported 52,000 tokens to the US Mint. A few were 1794's, but most were of the little used 1795 issue. They were cut down by the US mint and used primarily to strike half cents of 1795, with a few more struck dated 1797. A few cents dated 1797 were struck on the tokens that had not been cut down leaving the original edge lettering intact. Many of the US coins thus struck can be identified by a stray letter or two under the strike as having come from a cut down Talbot Allum and Lee token.

The coin pictured below has been tilted to allow the reader to see one of the more dramatic undertype views seen on one of these pieces. The piece pictured is a halfcent of 1795, Cohen 6a.



Obverse, Cohen 6a US halfcent, struck over the obverse of a 1795 Talbot Allum and Lee cent. The letters "MMERC" of "Commerce" plainly visible.



Reverse, Cohen 6a US halfcent, struck over the reverse of a 1795 Talbot Allum and Lee cent. The letters "LBOT" of "Talbot" are visible.

For many years the 1795 tokens were considered to be rare---as most were thought to have been cut down or melted by the US mint. After WW II a large group of them in mint state were found in England which changed the situation entirely. There are a decent number of 1795 tokens in mint state or near to it available to the collector. The 1794's are plentiful in VF, but not as easy to find in high grade.

As to the firm, Mr. Lee retired in 1796, and the firm went out of business in 1798. The business gone, the tokens either circulated or sold to the US mint---the end, you might say, of the American part of the story-----

OF COURSE, THERE IS MORE----

There was, as you might suspect, a bit of hanky panky going on in Birmingham. The maker, Kempson, did not leave well enough alone. First, there are some tokens with the edge markings of the TAL pieces. This really does not make much sense in the case of the 1795's as there is no denomination "Cent" in Britain.

Listed Conder Tokens with the TAL edges---

Tokens with the 1794 edge—"Payable at the Store of"
Hampshire D&H 11c.
Hampshire Gosport 41b
Warwickshire Birmingham 50f.

All of these are very rare.

Tokens with the 1795 edge—"We Promise to Pay the Bearer One Cent"
Essex, Braintree 4b
Suffolk, Blything 19b
Suffolk, Ipswich 35g
Sussex Chichester 17b
Warwickshire Birmingham 60c.

All are very rare with the exception of the last, which is scarce.

THE MULES-----

Not content to strike British tokens using American edges, Kempson also produced some mules.

These mules are what led me to collect Conder tokens. I was determined to complete the "set" of six mules that were listed by Robert Vlack in 1965, and Breen in his magnum opus in 1988. Starting in 1990, it only took twelve+ years to complete the set! In the meantime, I got so

interested in Conder tokens and the history that I dropped much of what I had been collecting and concentrated on the series. I have remained enamored by them.

Let's take a look at the mules. Each is listed in D&H in a different location, as "Commerce Standing" was not used on a regular British issue. Each is listed by what is on the "other" side, which then became the obverse, with "Commerce Standing" becoming the reverse of each. I shall list them for you below, with rarity information as I see it---from hard experience in trying to find them---They shall be listed by rarity, beginning with the most common token.

1. Hampshire 56. (Portsmouth) John Howard/Commerce Standing. 1794

This is a relatively common piece but always in demand. This token is listed in Bell, Specious Tokens, on page 25. He listed it there because it was relatively plentiful, circulated, and had no possibility of redemption. He considered the other five mules of the TAL tokens as pieces made for collectors, due to scarcity. The Hampshire 56 is seldom found in a grade better than VF, and was struck from much used and rusty dies so was quite imperfect to begin with. Edge: Payable in London, and then engrailed.



Hampshire Portsmouth 56

2. Hampshire 25. (Emsworth) Earl Howe/Commerce Standing. 1794

This piece is not plentiful---it is quite hard to find. It was struck from a broken, crumbling obverse die and is hard to find above a VF "look", thus giving the impression that many circulated, which is not the case. It seems to have been made for collectors. The one pictured is a tad better than usually found, but not much.

Edge: Payable in London, and then engrailed. Scarce+ to rare.



Hampshire Emsworth 25

3. Hampshire (Petersfield) 52. A Stork/Commerce Standing 1794

This token is hardly ever found other than in EF or better, many times seen for sale listed as being a proof. It seems to be about as plentiful as the Hampshire 25 above, perhaps more plentiful.

Edge: Payable at the Warehouse, Liverpool

Edge: Payable in London, and then engrailed. This edge is for #52a, and is often in catalogues as being extremely rare. It seems to me to be no rarer, and perhaps less rare, than #52. Overall, the Hampshire 52 and 52a taken together are Scarce+ to Rare.



Hampshire Petersfield 52a

4. Warwickshire, (Birmingham) 54 Boy with Tools/Commerce Standing 1794

The rarest of the 1794 pieces, it can be truly hard to find, and seems to be found generally in the VF-EF range. I have had circulated examples, and even when found in higher grade they are not perfect—having been struck from used dies.

Edge: Payable in London, and then engrailed. Rare, heading for very rare.



Warwickshire Birmingham 54

5. Norfolk Blofield 10. Weapons and musical instruments/Commerce Standing, 1795.

My collection of the mules got “stuck” after completing the 1794 pieces. It was not until 1998 and the Noble sale that this token came to me. At least RR.

Edge: Engrailed. (wavy lines and dots).

There is controversy within the ranks of writers—I believe that Kempson made this piece, and the next—along with the 1794 mules. Waters says Lutwyche made the mules dated 1795.



Norfolk Blofield 10

6. Yorkshire, York 65. Yorkshire Cathedral/Commerce Standing 1795.

This piece ranks as the hardest to find. It eluded me until 2003, and was finally purchased in that year. Two have been sold since 1999--- this piece (twice) and another. Most likely RRR.

Edge: Fear God and Honor the King.



Yorkshire York 65

That's the lot. In summary, the original Talbot, Allum, and Lee tokens fit the British description of a genuine trade piece— an issuer, a promise to pay, and a value. By being an American token it wound up being the only known genuine trade token made in Britain to be left out of D&H!! However, the mules----- five made for collectors and the sixth “specious” piece--- are listed, as they had British edges.

On the genuine pieces, and most of the mules, plain edge varieties exist. Each is listed as RRR--- and I have found that—so far---each one submitted to me has been a tampered-with token, though I have seen genuine pieces for sale.

Caution is therefore advised if meeting with a plain edge.

As well, there are electrotypes in existence of some of the tokens, and one odd electrotype of the Hampshire 25 that has an entirely different bust of Earl Howe, Hamps 23. It is a fabrication.

And lastly, the information above is given, and repeated—in one form or another in many of the books below. Since the books do not always agree with each other on specific items, I have taken the liberty to include my own studied thoughts on the matter at hand in some cases, thus I shall take responsibility for any confusion. Books, as mentioned in the article are listed in the bibliography, along with each volume consulted when writing this article.

Photos from the Bill McKivor collection.

Photos by Eric Holcomb.

Bibliography---American.

Early Coins of America

Sylvester Crosby, self published 1875

Colonial Coins

Robert Vlack, New York, 1965

Walter Breen's complete encyclopedia of US and Colonial coins

Walter Breen, Doubleday 1988.

Keeping in mind Breen's penchant for putting a bit of his own spin on history, this book is still one that should be in most people's library if interested in US Colonial Coins.

A Guide Book of United States Coins (The Red Book)

Ken Bressett, Editor 2005 edition.

Bibliography---Britain.

Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens issued between the years 1787 and 1796.

Charles Pye--- London, 1795.

The Virtuoso's Companion & Coin Collector's Guide.

M. Denton and T. Prattent, London 1795-1799. (Issued in sections 1797-99).

An Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens, and Medalets issued in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies from the farthing to the penny size.

James Conder, Ipswich, 1798. (1st Edition).

"British Tokens"—in The Bazaar, Exchange, and Mart weekly.

Richard Thomas Samuel(1880-1889) Compiled by Harold Welch, 1994.

The Provincial Token Coinage of the 18th Century

Richard Dalton and Samuel Hamer (D&H) 1910-1917

Davisson, 2004 Edition.

Notes on the 18th Century Tokens

Arthur W. Waters, Seaby 1954

Specious Tokens 1784-1804

R. C. Bell, Corbitt & Hunter 1969



NORWICH.

Looking at "Conder" Castles

Tom Fredette



Designers of late 18th century tokens featured buildings on many of their efforts. The Skidmore and Kempson series are two good examples of this statement. Further, the churches depicted on the Skidmore series have been the subject of a number of articles by CTCC member Simon Monks. A building that is also featured on a number of tokens, but has not been treated in the same way as the Skidmore or Kempson series is the castle. This structure, building, fortress, ruin or what-have-you, is part of the design element of more than a dozen tokens pictured in Dalton & Hamer.

In his article "Weaponry" in Military History magazine, concerning the subject of the impact of castles on early life in Britain, Martin Brown states that: "From 1066 to the Wars of the Roses, castles represented power in the British Isles." And one of this writer's favorite tokens, which proves the truth of this assertion, is York No. 63. The reverse shows soldiers waving flags and brandishing weapons - although one has to study the diesinker's work carefully to pick out these details.

According to Brown, the heyday of castle building and use in Britain was from the 11th to the 13th centuries, but efforts did continue into the 14th century and a little beyond, although by this time the castle had outlived the usefulness for which it was originally created. He further makes some interesting observations about British castles, and if one keeps them in mind while studying the images of these structures on "conder" tokens, it will bring some life to "conder" castles. Brown states that:

- castles were built on defensive sites and were usually near a river;
- a typical castle's history involved continuous growth on the same site;
- the building of towers to protect the entrance was an early addition to castles;
- some castles had walls that were 12 feet thick;
- castles were not impregnable;
- castles were some of the most modern structures of their time and their construction involved useful and innovative techniques;
- occasionally, towns were built within the walls;
- a castle was cold, drafty, smelly and usually crowded;
- the Black Death drastically reduced the population of masons to build them, soldiers to defend them and peasants to work in them and
- the people, themselves, were great destroyers of castles as they were always looking for stone to build other constructions.

Surveying Dalton & Hamer, as well as Bell, one finds castles shown as garrisons or imposing structures or as part of the arms of a particular municipality. For the purposes of this article, and keeping Brown's observations in mind, that seems like the best way to draw attention to them. There are a number to choose from and our references include examples from Colchester, Kent, Lancaster, Norwich, Bath, Stafford, Tamworth, York, Glamorgan, Forfar and Inverary.

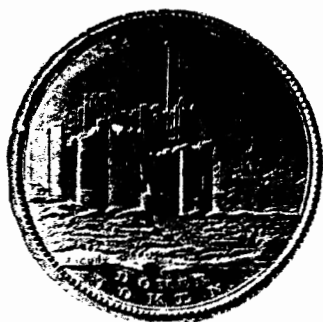
One token which can be shown as a good example of the first instance is Kent No. 19. It shows Dover castle. Both the inner and outer walls of the structure can be seen in this design. It fits much of what is stated by Brown's observations. Bell has given life to this piece by including a description in Specious Tokens:



The ancient fortress stands on a high eminence, being built on a cliff some 300 feet above the sea, and standing on about 35 acres of ground. There are traces of Roman, Saxon and Norman workmanship in the building; the first fortification probably having been erected by the Emperor Claudius about A.D. 49. It contains a number of towers, and has casement batteries, a bomb-proof magazine hewn out of the solid rock and barracks accommodating between three and four thousand men.

Dover castle was only once taken, and then by treachery at night by about a dozen conspirators. Within the castle precincts are the remains of a Roman lighthouse, or pharos, some eighty feet high, though the upper part is mediaeval. It stands about four hundred feet above the sea and in Roman times may have been used for signalling to a similar tower in Boulogne, thus forming a link between the provinces of Britain and Gaul.

As collectors, we are fortunate to have a description such as this one from R.C. Bell. It certainly helps us to appreciate at least this one token image and by extension brings the same appreciation to the images on the other "conder" castles which we meet in this series.



(obverse)

Kent No. 19.



(reverse)



Dover Castle (Theatrical Scrap-book).

Additionally, castles are represented in the late 18th century series as part of the arms of a municipality. The tokens of Norwich and Stafford illustrate this idea well. Using Brown's assertion that castles once represented power, these images would be a logical way for a great city to project this concept. They would be easily recognized because the residents would most likely be familiar with the area where the castle stood. They would be a source of pride for all who saw or used the token. The arms of Norwich, shown on Dalton & Hamer Nos. 14-16, is a clear example of a "condor" castle used in this way. (See: top of page 1.)

The images of castles engraved on late 18th century tokens give us another way to appreciate these magnificent copper discs. We can bring our imagination to the table, so to speak, and try, as the diesinker of York 63 successfully did, to "see what isn't there" by using our imagination. We can sense the source of pride and connection the people of the 18th century had for these crumbling edifices, some of the only images of which now reside on our beloved tokens.

Sources

Brown, Martin, "Weaponry." Military History, October, 2004, p. 16.

The illustration on page 2 is also from the above source.

The illustration on page 3 is from Bell's Specious Tokens. p. 185.

ABSTRACTS OF SOME RECENT ACADEMIC LITERATURE

Tony Fox

Perhaps unusually, this year's annual volume of the *British Numismatic Journal* contains two papers that may be of interest to CTCC members. The purpose here is to provide abstracts of these papers for the convenience of those who either may not have access to the volume itself or who may not want to plough through the full-length papers themselves. In providing these abstracts, please can I emphasize that, in no way, should any credit for these articles be allocated except to the original authors. This is merely reportage on those aspects, within each article, that are most relevant to Conders.

Mathias P. Official and unofficial money in the eighteenth century: The evolving uses of currency. *Br Numis J* 2004; **74**: 68-83.

Professor Mathias is an economic historian. The paper is his Howard Linecar Memorial Lecture in 2003. In giving his lecture, to an audience of mostly expert numismatists, Dr. Mathias described feeling "like a mere lion in a den of Daniels" !

The paper begins with a survey of the late eighteenth century situation. A shortage of Royal Mint small change led manufacturers to sell bulk quantities of tokens to others, who would then circulate them. Both parties aimed to make a profit, and, overwhelmingly, these tokens were in copper. The quantities minted, when known, seem large: for example, Fielding of Manchester made 2 million halfpennies, and the Brighton Camp (Sussex) issues comprised more than a million Conders. The Parys Mines Co. was perhaps the most prolific issuer of all: Between 1787 and 1791 they mined in Anglesey, smelted in Liverpool, and sold in bulk at London, 250 tons of pennies and 50 tons of halfpennies; their tokens were issued at full weight, and were widely recognized for their quality of manufacture. While Conders were probably minted in quantities of at least 40 million pieces, only 10% of the issues were in large quantity and the rest are relatively small issues with even fewer variants and mules. There are about 6000 issues altogether, with 73% being halfpennies, and the rest evenly divided between pennies and farthings, with the occasional larger denomination thrown in.

Yet, after the British Government finally "got it" in 1797, the next eight years saw Mathew Boulton (now for the Royal Mint) issuing copper coins at full weight ("Cartwheel" types where the weight of copper was intrinsically worth the face value of the coin). Boulton's 4000 tons of heavy coins were worth £800,000, dwarfing the *face value* of forty million halfpenny Conders at just over £83,000. It was this massive initiative that drove the Conders out of circulation. The price of copper fluctuated, too, between about £100 - 150 per ton, and most Conders were probably melted down for Boulton's later Royal Mint issues.

The question of contemporary forgeries is still open and not properly understood. For some reason, for example, The Fielding issues seem to have escaped imitation, while

Lutwyche's issues are known to have attracted forgeries at a scale of at least five tons of copper (or half a million halfpennies).

The geographical distribution of Conder issues, and how they correspond to those of the shipments from the Soho Works (Boulton), are obviously of interest to an economic historian. Unsurprisingly, demand was greatest from the larger industrialised towns and counties in England than from the more rural areas.

The manufacturers made their profits by selling tokens for more than the copper was worth when sold for other industrial purposes. There was what we now call vertical integration: companies who mined, smelted, and also struck copper had better control over production costs and the market as a whole. Parys (see above), the British Copper Company (Walthamstow, Essex), and others all adopted this approach. Generally, when a coin says "Payable in London, Anglesey and Liverpool" (or wherever) these are the places where the manufacturer had premises for the disparate processes of mining, smelting and minting.

The success of the copper tokens was because they facilitated exchange. The start of this process was their use in paying wages (as at Brighton Camp); however, with tradesmen and labourers being paid 8 to 30 shillings per week, they couldn't have been paid entirely in Conders ! But as long as people could readily pass them along, and as long as the tokens looked good enough, then they would easily circulate. Nonetheless, confidence in the excellent Parys Mines issues, for example, was officially expressed by various legal authorities, magistrates, etc., often a long way away from any 'company town'. But by and large, these were coins for the pocket and for spending, not for saving up as a store of value like gold coins. [Somewhat exceptionally, a hoard of several hundred Walthamstow tokens was recently unearthed at Upminster, Essex. They were neatly stacked about two feet deep in the Essex clay, and their container had rotted away.-TF].

By 1810-1820, most of the complaints were actually about the lack of silver coinage, not copper. The Conders, and Boulton's replacement of them with his cartwheel coins (each penny weighing a full ounce !), had solved the small change problem.

Dykes DW. Some reflections on Provincial coinage. *Br Numis J* 2004; **74**: 160-174.

Dr.Dykes was President of the British Numismatic Society in 2003. The paper results from his presidential address. He starts by distinguishing between eighteenth century tokens that were truly intended for use as small change, as described by C.Pye (1801), A.W.Waters (1954) and R.C.Bell (1963). Private tokens, advertising tokens, political issues by the "hare-brained...Thomas Spence", and tokens made specifically for the "collecting mania" of the late eighteenth century are specifically excluded from his paper. Dr.Dykes brackets the dates for the tokens of interest as being between 1787,

when the “Druid” pennies by the Parys Mines Co. began, until the contemporary death of the Conder at the hands of Boulton’s cartwheels starting about 1797.

Dr.Dykes points out that during the crucial period for Conders, not only the copper coinage, but also the silver coinage had basically come to a standstill at the Royal Mint. People could get more for their silver by selling it overseas than the Mint was allowed to pay for bullion. Between 1750 and 1799, the Royal Mint produced little silver change beyond Maundy Money. Over-valued foreign coins and forgeries were commonly circulated with scarce and badly worn out British issues.

The decrepit silver was only surpassed by the ramshackle copper ! Apart from a small issue of farthings in 1762-1763, and a larger quantity of halfpennies and farthings 1770-1775, no copper was issued until Boulton got going in 1797. Even the 1770-1775 issues were unsuccessful in that they were mostly melted down to manufacture lighter weight forgeries. In 1780, even the official authorities accepted that of all the copper coins in circulation, more were counterfeit than genuine, and 12% were blanks. Outside of London, there was even a supply problem: the Royal Mint only sold coins from Tower Hill, and would not cover transportation costs to the rural towns up and down the country whose marketplaces needed the small change.

Various tactics were adopted. Some factories had long pay periods so that wages could be paid in gold. Others issued scrip or paper commitments. One factory paid its workers in thirds. When the first third had been to the shops and spent their wages, these coins would be redeemed from the shop keepers for their consolidated worth in gold by the factory owner, who then had enough small denominations to pay the next third of his workers, and so on. Buying in copper from Tower Hill was pointless because the carriage charges into the countryside were crippling.

Conders were then paid as wages in wrapped quantities worth half a crown or the full 5 shillings [somewhat like nickels, dimes and quarters in Las Vegas today - TF]. Inevitably these coin rolls included light coins, counterfeits, blanks, and anything else that people could get away with, and costing less than good and pure copper.

The Conder, with a broadly agreed weight and shape from many manufacturers, thus became a relatively well-trusted national small change currency. A good copper halfpenny came in at about 8.9 grams, which is not generous but was a breakthrough in standardisation. The D&H Lancashire no.1 penny, at 17.75 grams was also a stereotype.

Boulton’s 1797 Royal coinage came about after substantial competition from Williams in Wales. But even in 1792 it is clear that most of the tokens were made in Birmingham, and of those Boulton already controlled about a third of that volume of about 60 tons of copper per annum on the average. There were, nonetheless, small manufacturers, often with a main business in button-making or some other trade, who would nonetheless manufacture and issue as little as a hundredweight and a half of copper tokens with a profit of no more than £3.

THE CONDER TOKEN BOOKSHELF

Michael Grogan

One of the great pleasures of collecting Conder tokens is the vast literature available on the subject, ranging from modern publications all the way back to books written in the 1790's while the tokens were still falling from the dies. Once a collector has a Dalton and Hamer and the complete set of Bell books there are many other choices to explore. In this and future pages I hope to review reference books that are somewhat obscure yet interesting, available and relatively inexpensive additions to a token library.

ENGLISH TRADE TOKENS, THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ILLUSTRATED

Peter Mathias .1962. 64 pages 16 plates. Hardcover.

Dr. Mathias is a prominent economic historian writing here very specifically about 18th and 19th century token issues. His introductory section provides a general historical background discussing The Precedents, The Inexperience of the Mint, The Evasive Halfpence, The Need for Tokens, Token-mania and the New Regal Coinage, The Silver Tokens, and The End of the Story.

The second section of the book is illustrated by 16 excellent black and white plates. It provides commentary on the illustrated tokens which are divided into several categories for discussion. The categories are: Politics and War, Retailers, Transport, Mines, Copper Companies, Textile Industry, Ironworks, Iron and Lead Industries, John Wilkinson Iron-master, Other Industries, Miscellaneous, and Local Industries.

This short and very readable book is packed with information and may suggest areas of interest for collecting. It concludes with an extensive bibliography. Although long out of print it is generally available from used booksellers for \$20-\$30. Let me know if you need help locating a copy.

For those with a great interest in economic conditions in the eighteenth century, Dr. Mathias has written numerous other books on the subject. His other titles include: The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830, The Transformation of England, Essays in the Economic and Social History of England in the Eighteenth Century, and The First Industrial Nation an Economic History of Britain 1700-1914. Dr. Mathias is still actively writing and Tony Fox reviews an article by him in this issue of the Journal.

I think you will be pleased to add this volume to your Conder token bookshelf.

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BRITISH TOKENS are my specialty and have been since about 1970 with my first token purchases made in 1963. They fascinated me even before the Dalton & Hamer book was reprinted the first time by Seaby in 1967. And, the best part, they were and are cheaper and similarly fascinating as our large and half cents - even colonials! Many Uncirculateds can be had for \$25 or \$30!! I've expanded into 17th and 19th century English tokens as well as evasions, unofficial farthings and BOOKS! I issue several free lists a year with HUNDREDS of tokens. Just Email or call or write me. I have a 21 day return policy for any or no reason! So, no risk - take a look! Even a layaway plan for those that want it. Try a little beginner's group of these to fit your pocket book!

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To let me know about your classic token literature. Several members have answered my appeals for information about their Pre WWII token books. Thanks to those kind folks. However, if my book in progress, *The Virtuoso's Arrangement*, is to be anywhere near complete, I need more members to step forward to help. If you own any original books on British tokens of the 18th and 19th centuries, I really need to hear from you. Does your book have a past ownership inscription? Perhaps it has annotations or letters or other ephemera laid in. If it is a numbered edition, which copy is it? I will give you credit or keep you anonymous - whatever you prefer. Thanks for your help!

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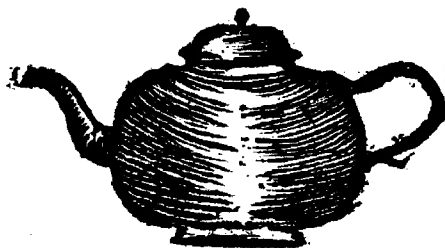
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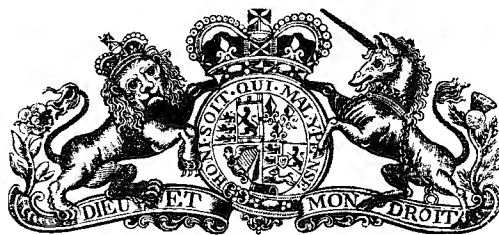
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Thursday, April 14, 2005

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I think you will find our quarterly journals some of the most interesting and scholarly in all numismatics, filled with terrific articles from a very enthusiastic and involved membership. The club has also in the past provided free Commemorative Club Medals (past medals can be seen at our club website) to our paid membership, and hopes to continue that tradition for as long as adequate funds allow.

For instant membership signup and dues payments, you can go to the following ebay website: <http://cgi.ebay.com/ws/eBayISAPI.dll?ViewItem&item=3908076924> Otherwise,

PLEASE SEND ALL US DOLLAR PAYMENTS TO OUR CLUB TREASURER:

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Below, please write your name and address EXACTLY as you would wish it to appear on an envelope addressed to you. The club will use this information for all future correspondence. (email optional).

We very much appreciate your interest in our club, and look forward to hearing from you soon.

Going, going, gone – for \$167,750.

That's the US equivalent paid for all the trade tokens in our auction on 16 March – and there are three more auctions to come in 2005!



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Dalton & Hamer. *The Provincial Token Coinage of the 18th Century*. 1996 update. Fully illustrated in text, rarity guide. 600+ pages. Index. New printing with high quality binding. Pocket on inside back cover holds a separate publication with listings of new varieties and a detailed annotated bibliography of important token auctions from 1800 to date. It also allows easy storage of notes or brief articles with your book. \$200.

Davisson, *A Brief Introduction to 18th Century Tokens*. Detailed notes on the series, including material added to D&H for the 1996 edition. \$6.

Marville, H. *Tokens of the Industrial Revolution. Foreign Silver Coins Countermarked for Use in Great Britain, c. 1787-1828*. A special publication of the British Numismatic Society. A handsome hardcover volume, 307 pages plus 55 plates, many photos also in text. Extensive historical notes. The book lists all known examples of this series. \$75.

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